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TEXTUAL NOTES ON THE LETTERS OF THE SARGON PERIOD

BY LEROY WATERMAN

The following textual comments attempt to cover the chief points where Harper's Texts have thus far been brought in question and consist of a comparison of the variant readings with the originals in the British Museum. Different readings in portions restored have been omitted, as these involve no comparison with the originals. For convenience the order followed is that of Harper's numbering.

H. 5 (K. 583, Obv. 15) Delitzsch *BA* I 627 reads . . . ili for ina pa-an, but compare Obv. 15, note 6, which recognizes an omitted sign before . . . ili, "das am meisten mit GUR Ähnlichkeit hat." The form in question seems to consist pretty plainly of one sign written over another (1).¹ I would read with H. ina pa-an.

H. 6 (K. 595, Obv. 7) van Gelderen *BA* IV 505 transliterates da-ab-b[a]-ni. The traces in H. permit this, but the tablet has one more horizontal stroke (2) than in H., which makes the reading ba impossible; Rev. 11 van Gelderen *BA* IV 503 reads us-sa-bi[l]. Behrens *ABB* 91 questions what sign is to be restored, whether rik, li, or some other. The difficulty is due to a typographical error. A perpendicular wedge has been omitted in H. or has been drawn in the process of printing. The sign (3) is quite surely rik. Rev. 14 Behrens *ABB* 91 corrects pi to ši and reads a-du ištên li'mi-šu for a-du diš-pi-šu. The form consists of one sign written over another, but whether it is composed of ši written over pi or vice versa, it is impossible to determine from the tablet. The context must decide.

H. 23 (K. 602, Obv. 15). The tablet has been cleaned since first published, and two strokes in addition to the traces given in H. can be seen (4). Compare Behrens' assertion, *ABB* 98, that the traces

¹ Figures in parentheses refer to cuneiform notes at the end of this paper.

point to tarbaṣu. The traces do lend themselves to tarbaṣu. This line extends three millimeters beyond the beginning of the previous line and two millimeters beyond the beginning of the line following. Obv. 16 Zimmern *ABB* 98 reads zi-in-na-tu for nam-in-na-tu with Bezold *ZA* II 446. This typographical error is probably due to the nam just above. The correction is to be accepted.

H. 29 (K. 1204, Obv. 9) Behrens *ABB* 34 proposes an or nu for maš in kur-ba-maš. It is better to read an instead of bar, maš. The sign as it stands can be taken in either way.

H. 36 (K. 1032, Obv. 7) Behrens *ABB* 29 queries whether the fifth sign (uncertain) may not be ra and reads: ^{al} Ḥar-ra-an. The traces plainly do not lend themselves to ra, but rather to ur. The text in H. lacks one perpendicular at the right, as well as an additional horizontal wedge beyond (5). Rev. 6 Behrens *ABB* 29 remarks: "Die Schreibung ist sehr absonderlich." There seems to be no doubt, however, as to the correctness of the text in H. Rev. 9 Behrens *ABB* 29 is inclined to read bēl a-[gi-e] or ḥarran for the third and fourth sign. The second sign, EN in H., is badly rubbed. It seems, however, to be quite certainly ēš (sin), followed by traces of a sign erased. The third sign is a scribal, not typographical error for EN=bēl. There is also beyond a some very badly rubbed, though fairly certain traces. For the entire line cf. (6). Rev. 11 Behrens *ABB* 29 reads ni-ip-ḫi for ni-ur-ḫi. This typographical correction is to be accepted.

H. 43 (K. 122, Rev. 10) van Gelderen *BA* IV 516 (note) reads KU-U-ŠAG for KU-ŠAG. This correction is to be accepted. Cf. Rev. 16 and 21. Rev. 17 van Gelderen *BA* IV 514 reads wa-lu-ub for pi-lu-ub, but the text requires gal-lu-ub, already noted by Harper *AJSL* X 200, "At present I am inclined to regard the pi as an incorrect reading of gal. It will be necessary to consult the original of this difficult text again."

H. 47 (K. 979, Obv. 8) Harper *AJSL* X 196 reads ri-in-ku for ri-LUGAL-ku. This correction is to be accepted.

H. 52 (K. 80, Rev. 1) Streck *AJSL* XXII 218, note 29, calls attention to S. A. Smith's reading sa-si-ḫa-na for sa-si-ḫa-ni in H. The sign in question is to be read na with Smith, although the

form is peculiar. Rev. 10: tu-ša-lik. According to H. (footnote) lik is written over ba. Behrens *ABB* 51 questions which is superimposed. Either one is possible. It is a very deeply cut, clear writing of both signs.

H. 56 (K. 649, Obv. 7) Behrens *ABB* 46 reads ma-aḫ-lu for ^{iṣ} aḫ-lu in H.; iṣ, however, stands in the text and corresponds to iṣ in Rev. 5; ma seems impossible, the third upper horizontal stroke would have been too high. The sign is deeply and plainly cut.

H. 86 (K. 660, Rev. 5) Johnston *JAOS* XVIII 169 transliterates re[šni], and remarks that the traces indicate si, but might be iṣ, and that ni is omitted because of the following ni. I would read provisionally ri-e-šu (7); ri is written over an erasure, e is broken, and šu rubbed and broken.

H. 89 (K. 515, Rev. 5) Johnston *JAOS* XVIII 173 reads tu-pi-iṣ for tu-ši-iṣ, followed by Behrens *ABB* 54. I would read pi with Johnston. It seems quite certain, however, that the scribe first wrote ši, which he then altered to pi. It differs very much from pi in Rev. 7 and Obv. 12. Harper had already suggested the above correction; cf. *AJSL* X 199, "My text reads ši, but I am inclined to think that this character is pi."

H. 94 (K. 1147+1947, Rev. 1) Streck *AJSL* XXII 220, note 41, transliterates Ru-ḫa-ḫa-a ša and emends ša to a. According to the footnote in H. the last sign of Rev. 1 is perhaps a. The text (8) is clearly as given in H., which is plainly meant for a, as this letter is in the Assyrian script.

H. 97 (K. 4770, Obv. 7) Behrens *ABB* 46 reads i-su-ri for i-su-ḫu. Behrens' correction of this typographical error is to be accepted.

H. 110 (K. 576, Rev. 6) Behrens *ABB* 17 reads li-bi me-e^{pl} for li-kaš-šip mē. I would read with H. a^{pl}. The mē has been rubbed, but I cannot see any cut strokes before the a.

H. 113 (K. 501, Obv. 13) Behrens *ABB* 40 reads ma-ṣar for iṣ, plus a broken sign. This correction, already made by Harper, *AJSL* XV 142 is to be accepted. I am sorry to be compelled to state that Behrens, in many places, either does not know the literature on the *Letters*, or fails to give credit to others whose statements he has accepted.

H. 114 (K. 538, Rev. 10) Behrens *ABB* 85 remarks on ta-bu-ni: "Die Endung -uni . . . ist sehr auffällig." This reading is also plainly and unmistakably correct.

H. 137 (K. 467, Obv. 10) Jastrow *RBA* XIV 518 reads lum-nu for lum-kur. This correction is to be accepted.

H. 138 (K. 469, Rev. 13) Johnston *JAOS* XVIII 169 reads u-qa-ib-u(?) -ni for u-qa-ib-ni, and remarks "The enclitic ni cannot be joined to the verb without a union vowel (Del. *Assyr. Gram.* p. 79β). . . . The insertion of u improves both the sense and the construction." The text in H. is correct, there is no u.

H. 141 (K. 481, Rev. 3) Jastrow *RBA* XIV 532 reads "fourteen" for "four" and remarks, "Bei H. fehlt der Winkelhaken." The text is correct. One can see traces of u through which erasure lines have been drawn. These extend into the ud preceding (9).

H. 149 (K. 540, Obv. 8) Meissner *SAW* 46a reads (ku(!) zip-pi for ki-zip-pi, followed by Behrens *ABB* 33. The sign is correct in H. and accurately reproduced. It corresponds exactly to the sign after Akkad Obv. 9, which of course must be ki.

H. 167 (K. 582, Rev. 19) Behrens *ABB* 10 remarks concerning ut-ru, "Es hat beinahe den Anschein als ob statt ut vielmehr dā (kal) zu lesen sei." The text in H. is undoubtedly correct.

H 201 (K. 690, Rev. 5) Zimmern's suggestion in *ABB* 31, that ila'uni may have stood after bêli-ia is to be accepted. I have had the tablet cleaned and one can now see ša šarru be-li i-la-[u-]ni. The ni is broken and rubbed; ia does not stand in the text; cf. Obv. 4.

H. 281 (K. 13, Obv. 30) van Gelderen *BA* IV 528 deliberately leaves out the first sign, ri, in his translation. Johnston *JAOS* XVIII 141 reads ta(?). I cannot accept the reading ta. Nevertheless a sign is undoubtedly to be read though it is on a corner edge and badly damaged. However, it does not seem to me that the traces lend themselves to ri of H. and of Pinches (cf. IV, R. 52, No. 2), but rather to an imperfectly cut la (10). It is not in the scope of these notes to go beyond textual matters. I would, however, only call attention to the effect of la upon the translation in giving force and clearness to the speech of Ummanaldaš. For

translations cf. Johnston *JAOS* XVIII 139-40 and van Gelderen *BA* IV 528-29.

H. 328 (K. 638, Obv. 12) Delattre *PSBA* XXIII 52 reads ^{amēl} Kal-di for ^{amēl} Kal-ki. Delattre's correction of this typographical error is to be accepted.

H. 344 (83-1-18, 28, Rev. 1) Klauber *AB* 53 reads, ba-ri-ki-ili for ba-ri-di-ili. This correction is to be accepted.

H. 346 (Bu. 89-4-26, 9, Obv. 3) Streck *AJSL* XXII 214 reads ^{al} kak-zi for ^{al} kak-nam. Streck's correction of this typographical error is to be accepted.

H. 353 (82-5-22, 169, Obv. 5) Behrens *ABB* 74 remarks that the ideogram for aribu is given more correctly by Bezold, Cat., p. 1841, than in H. Bezold's reading is typographically better than in H.

H. 356 (Bu. 89-4-26, 160, Obv. 20) Behrens' remark, *ABB* 71 "dagegen sind die Spuren die auf nu deuten wohl falsch" is to be accepted. On the other hand, his endeavor to read ri instead is questionable. The traces are on a corner edge and badly rubbed, but there are more than are given by Bezold, Cat., p. 1929, or in H. It is difficult to tell whether or not there is an upright wedge-head at the juncture of the lines at the right (11).

H. 358 (Rm. 76, Obv. 6) van Gelderen *BA* IV 510 regards ^{ilu} Ninib as a dittography. Jastrow *RBA* XIV 540 remarks, "Harper hat ein zweites Ninib copiert." The text in H. is correct. Obv. 8 van Gelderen *BA* IV 510 reads a[ši-]bu-te and regards ši as omitted by mistake. The text is correct. The error is scribal. Obv. 17 van Gelderen *BA* IV 510 reads, iḫ-ḫa-ka for iḫ-nak(?) -ka. The sign interrogated is badly scratched, but nak(?) cannot be ka. The top stroke of nak is very plain, as also are the two perpendicular wedges inside. Nak alone satisfies the writing. Obv. 24, e-me (cf. van Gelderen's note, *BA* IV 511), is now correctly read nišê by Harper; cf. Klauber *AJSL* XXVII 332^{10a}. Rev. 9 van Gelderen *BA* IV 511 points out a dittography in bēli. The text is correct. The error is scribal. Rev. 12 van Gelderen *BA* IV 511 reads ina libbi ša-da-a u-kan-ni-šu-u-ni for ina libbi ša ša-a-u i-ni-šu-u-ni. The correction is to be accepted. Rev. 13 van Gelderen *BA* IV 511 reads ia for za. The thought

undoubtedly requires *ia*, but *za* gives the exact form on the tablet. If the scribe ever added a third upper stroke on the right it has been so completely effaced as to leave no incision whatever; cf. H. 964, Rev. 7, footnote. Rev. 14 van Gelderen *BA* IV 509 supplies *mu* and reads *ṭe[mu]*. The text is correct. The error is scribal. Rev. 15 van Gelderen *BA* IV 511 adds *[ni]* to *iš-pur-an*. The text in H. is correct. There is no trace of *ni*, after *an*, on the tablet. Rev. 16 van Gelderen *BA* IV 512 reads *ia* for *ni(?)* in H. The traces favor *ia* (12).

H. 366 (82-5-22, 96, Rev. 2) Behrens *ABB* 46 reads *i-pa-aš-šar* for *i-pa-pa-šar*. Behrens' correction of this typographical error is to be accepted.

H. 378 (83-1-18, 11, Rev. 5) Behrens *ABB* 99 remarks: "Ob pittit zu lesen, ist sehr fraglich." The text is correctly reproduced in H. (13). Cf. H. 917, Rev. 12.

H. 380 (Rm. 2, 3, Obv. 7) van Gelderen *BA* IV 522 reads *u-a* for *ellu*. The portion taken as *u* is very closely joined to what follows (14), and on account of the spacing lends itself better to the reading in H. The reading can only be determined by the context.

H. 399 (67-4-2, 1, Obv. 7) Delitzsch *BA* I 236 correctly reads *ša taš-pu-ra*. The line is omitted in H.

H. 401 (83-1-18, 30, Obv. 10) Behrens *ABB* 72 reads *pa-an* for *maš-an*. The lower wedge is indistinct and looks like an erasure. I would, however, read *pa* from the context and regard it as a scribal error. Obv. 10, the first sign is plainly correct and the interrogation mark is to be deleted.

H. 407 (83-1-18, 40, Rev. 1) Jastrow *RBA* XIV 518 reads *lum-nu* for *mi-nu*. The traces in the text (15) may be taken in either way, to be determined only by the context.

H. 408 (Rm. 2, 1, Rev. 11) van Gelderen *BA* IV 542 reads *liš* for *ši*. As the line stands (16) *ši* is plainly in the text. But inasmuch as there are several erasures in the line and especially since the scribe utilized part of an erasure in writing *mu* (cf. note), so in the following sign, the horizontal wedge of *ši*, which is quite plain and shows little or no signs of erasure, was probably intended to be erased. The line, however, is to be read a *ṭe-mu liš-kun*.

H. 409 (Rm. 2, 2, Obv. 3). The text is broken. The line is incomplete and should have been so indicated in H. Cf. Klauber's note, *AB*, 67.

H. 414 (Rm. 77, Obv. 11) van Gelderen *BA* IV 526 reads ki-it-ki-te-e for ki-it-ku(?) -te-e. The text is badly rubbed, but what can be seen (17) seems to favor ku rather than ki, especially in view of the writings of ku on this tablet.

H. 426 (80-7-19, 17, Obv. 11) Strassmaier *AV* pp. 811, 978 reads li-iḫ-ḫa for li-ik-liš in H. Johnston *AJSL* XVII 150 reads with Strassmaier. I would accept Strassmaier-Johnston's reading. The sign is written over an erasure (18). Cf. H., footnote.

H. 438 (K. 177, Obv. 7, and Rev. 4) Zimmern *ABB* 7 remarks on ¹¹ ši-da-da: "Dafür wird im Orig. wohl ¹¹ ši-sig-sig (Zeichen arqu) stehen." I cannot accept Zimmern's correction. The text is plainly correct.

H. 444 (K. 645, Obv. 13) van Gelderen *BA* IV 524 questions whether ali in H. should not rather be lib. The traces in H. are correct, whatever the reading. Obv. 13 Johns *AJSL* XXII 229 reads kap-pa-ri for bel ut-ri. I have had the tablet cleaned, but I can only read bēl as in H. It is true the two wedges at the foot are both written inside the perpendiculars (19), which naturally favors kap, but there seems to be no room above for a third wedge-head. Also bēl in Obv. 3 is written in the same manner.

H. 450 (K. 898, Rev. 4) la-ku šu-tu-u-ni. The text is correct. Cf. Behrens *ABB* 85.

H. 458 (K. 1122, Obv. 8) Behrens *ABB* 53 reads man-da-at-ti for u-da-at-ti. In my copy of H. the first sign of Obv. 8 has been pulled out altogether. Of course man is to be read, which is plainly on the original. For other examples of press pullings cf. H. 222 (K. 186, Obv. 8), in a lib-bi. lib lacks the three perpendiculars; also in Obv. 11 ma of ma-a has been pulled.

H. 464 (K. 1519, Obv. 19) Behrens *ABB* 3 reads iḫ-bu-nu for aḫ-bu-nu. The text in H. is correct.

H. 473 (81-2-4, 65, Rev. 6) Klauber *AB* 21 reads be, bad for bab. I am inclined to read with H. This sign differs from the be below Rev. 19, in that the horizontal stroke is prolonged in line 6. I would not regard the reading be as excluded.

H. 493 (83-1-18, 13, Rev. 27) Behrens *ABB* 65 questions the reading ak-kud-di-ni. The text in H. is correct.

H. 496 (K. 474, Rev. 6) Behrens *ABB* 68 reads tim-ma for ina ud-ma. The correction is to be accepted (20).

H. 506 (K. 678, Obv. 16, Rev. 5) Klauber *AB* 9 reads gab-bu for mu-bu. This typographical correction is to be accepted.

H. 514 (K. 477, Rev. 12) Behrens *ABB* 30 reads du-ul-lu for ^{iu} ul-lu. The text is broken, but the reading du (21) is to be accepted.

H. 516 (81-7-27, 31, Obv. 11) Streck *AJSL* XXII 215 proposes to read the first sign uš. The form on the tablet is correctly reproduced in H. and, though unsatisfactory, it cannot be uš.

H. 517 (82-5-22, 91, Obv. 11) Zimmern *AB* 13 reads ṭa-ba-át for da-ba-bu in H. I have had the tablet cleaned, and I would read tu (22) rather than with either H. or Z. The sign runs over into šarru of Rev. 6.

H. 518 (83-1-18, 27, Obv. 11) Behrens *ABB* 19 reads ḥu-l[u-pu], and remarks: "aber zu l[u] stimmen die Spuren bei Harper keinesfalls." The traces stand plainly as in H., hence the restoration lu is impossible.

H. 520 (K. 680, Obv. 7 and 11) Streck *AJSL* XXII 216 reads ak for Toffteen's ^{iu} ak. The sign in H. is neither one (23), but a typographical error for ak, i.e., the first perpendicular wedge should be deleted.

H. 552 (K. 640, Rev. 6) Toffteen *AJSL* XXI 89 reads Ba-ḥar-ri. Johns *AJSL* XXII 229 reads correctly, with the text, Ba-ḫar-ri.

H. 553 (K. 659, Rev. 9) Behrens *ABB* 100 reads II šu for III šu. This correction is probably to be accepted. The text is badly damaged; only the lower ends of two wedges are visible. From the spacing, however, one could read III as well as II if the context demanded it.

H. 576 (K. 1009, Obv. 8) Klauber *AB* 69 reads te for tu, but the text is correct. Tu stands plainly on the tablet, although with Klauber one would expect te.

H. 649 (81-2-4, 110, Rev. 5) Johns *AJSL* XXII 231 reads

correctly šu-ḥu-pa for Toffteen's misreading šu-ḥu-ra (cf. *AJSL* XXI 99). The text in H. is correct.

H. 652 (80-7-19, 22, Obv. 7) Behrens *ABB* 25 remarks: "Vor dem Personendeterminativ fehlt wohl nichts (?)" Ašur is written directly under pur above. Hence there is space for more than the broken determinative (24).

H. 685 (81-2-4, 96, Rev. 5) Streck *AJSL* XXII 208 remarks: "Vor ak-ta-la bietet H. noch einen schrägen Keil; sollte letzterer ungenau für AŠ stehen, mithin die Stadt Aššur (AŠ) gemeint sein?" This sign can only be a division-mark.

H. 688 (80-7-19, 21, Obv. 8) Behrens *ABB* 78 reads: BE-GIŠ-BI for BE-GIŠ-RIG(?). The text in H. is plainly correct and the interrogation is to be deleted.

H. 733 (81-2-4, 113, Rev. 9) Klauber *AB* 31 reads mašar-tu for mašar ali. This correction is to be accepted.

H. 755 (83-1-18, 122, Obv. 6 and 16) Klauber *AB* 73, note 3, compares the variant reading in Godbey's list, *AJSL* XXI 81. The text in H. in both cases is correct, and Godbey is to be corrected accordingly.






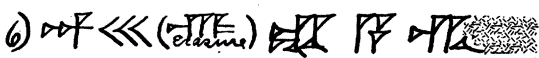
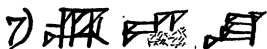









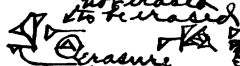
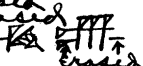

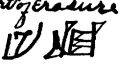

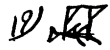



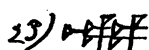

H. 767 (83-1-18, 75, Obv. 9) Klauber *AB* 7 reads er meš for bi. The text in H. is correct. The erasure is complete, the bi is very plain and deeply cut.

H. 789 (K. 1964, Obv. 7) Streck *AJSL* XXII 221 reads šal-lu-ki-e-a for šal-lu-ki-si-a. Streck's correction is to be accepted.

H. 802 (81-7-27, 39, Obv. 6) Streck *AJSL* XXII 217 suggests am for the fourth sign. The text is correctly reproduced in H.

H. 858 (K. 822, Obv. 16) Behrens *ABB* 54 corrects ši, lim to pi, and reads ta-ḥap-pi for ta-kal-lim; cf. Harper *AJSL* XIX 231. The correction of Behrens is to be accepted.

H. 869 (81-2-4, 120, Obv. 6) Jastrow *Babyloniaca* III 3 p. 227 remarks upon "the gloss which Harper's copy, however, does not indicate as such." (1) The text in H. is given exactly as in the original; (2) H. has reproduced the indenture which in this case shows the gloss; (3) the script is identical with that of the rest of the tablet; (4) it is not smaller, nor is it written above or below the word to be explained, as is usual in most glosses.

- 1)  2)  3) 
 4)  5) 
 6)  7)  8)  9) 
 10)  11)  12) 
 13)  14)  15)  16)  ^{erasure}
 17)  ^{not erased}  ^{erased}  ^{erased}  ^{erasure}
 18)  19)  20) 
 21)  22)  23) 
 24) Perhaps 

LONDON

September 11, 1911

This article was in type before the appearance of Dr. Ylvisaker's excellent monograph, *Zur babylonischen und assyrischen Grammatik*, and hence no notice could be taken of the readings given by him on pp. 75-84.—R. F. H.